

A

LETTER

TO

Mr. S—, late Lord B—.



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Mr. St. -n, late Lord \mathcal{B} —.

IN WHICH

The false Reasonings and Evasions, in a Pamphlet called, A final Answer to the Remarks on the CRAFTSMANS Vindication, &c. are plainly detected: and in which is an impartial Examination into the most important Parts of the late Lord B——'s Life and Character.



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LETTER

TO

Mr. S—, late Lord B—.

SIR,



S the Season of the Year near Approaches in which we shall see the august Assembly of our Legislators, and in which the People will naturally raise their

Attention to the Determinations of their Representatives in Parliament, the Task will not be improper to point out the Enemys of the Administration, and to shew what Sort of Persons they are, by canvassing their former

mer Actions, and their present Proceedings. I have already addressed myself to your faithful Colleague Mr. P.; and with the same Candour, the same Regard to Justice, with which I examined his curious Libel on the King and Ministry, I shall take what you call your final Answer into Consideration. Your passed Wickedness when in Power, and your present evil Designs, have been often exposed; but the repeated Insolences of your Tools of Faction render frequent Repetitions of your

Character necessary.

My chief Intent in this Letter is to prove, that if you could demonstrate the Truth of the Assertions contained in the three Heads, on which the Crast sman made his Challenge, you would not appear a better Man, nor bring a stronger Recommendation of yourself to your King and Country, than if those Assertions were disproved; and that, if we make all the Concessions which you wish to have made, you will still be as black in the Eye of God and the World as before: I shall likewise detect your false Reasonings and Evasions, with some other Absurditys, and shew your Want of Policy in engaging in a Controversy of this Nature.

I shall pass over your idle Preface of five or fix Pages, and come to those Articles of the Craft sman's Vindication of you, which you feem most to rely on. The Affirmation which you first quote from the Craftsman is that you never entered into Engagements, or any Commerce, with the PRETENDER, till you had been attainted, and cut off from the Body of his Majesty's Subjects. This fingle Affirmation affords a large Field for Observa-The principal Concession which you feem desirous of having made in this Point is, that your Engagements with the Pretender before your Attainder, are not proved by the Author of the Remarks, &c. This shall be granted; but what do you gain by fuch a Concession, if your Proceedings in the Reign of Queen Ann are demonstrated to have been contrary to the Interest of the House of Hanover, and conducing to the Advantage of the Pretender ?

I shall not refer to any Passages of your Conduct, which will admit of the least Doubt, to prove that you acted in the direct Interest of the Pretender. Your Chicanes of State, your referring M. Torcy to Abbot Gualtier, who was the Person appointed to speak what you was fearful to write; the great Consus-

on which you was in, when you removed your Papers from your Office, and other prefumptive Arguments of your Guilt, which have been infifted on, I think unnecessary Evidences, fince so many undeniable Proofs

offer themselves against you.

As the black Catalogue of your Sins against the Public, is too large for me to go through chronologically by the Force of Memory only, I shall relate your Offences, and shew the Nature of them, as they occur to me. first that presents it-self is your ever memorable Zeal in Parliament for the Schism-bill; a Bill which rendered all the protestant Diffenters incapable of possessing any Places of public Trust, and which deprived them of the Comfort of educating their Children in fuch a Manner as they thought would conduce most to their Interest. The Dissenters. at that Time, were all unanimous in their Wishes for the Hanover-succession; their Prospect of future Happyness to themselves and their Posterity, was fixed on the Succession of the House of Hanover; they were the People therefore who were pointed out as the Objects of Hatred and Fear; and they therefore were to be robbed of those Privileges, which, by Right, they should enjoy; and

and which in a free Government, like this. they ever will enjoy. Your Enmity was not confined to the Friends of the House of Hanover who were then living, but was extended to those who were unborn; their Children, by your bleffed Defigns, were to have came into the World with the Want of that Liberty which Nature had bestowed on them ! they were from the Cradle, by a corrupt Education, to have been alienated from that Cause in which their Fathers would have dved. To forward this Project in Behalf of the Pretender, the infamous and villainous Doctrines of Bishop Parker were revived; Passiveobedience, Non-resistance, hereditary and divine Right, were thundered from the Pulpit; and one of the worst and most scandalous of Preachers was rewarded with a royal Presentation; and these slavish Doctrines were propagated thro' the Kingdom in Books wrote to answer the End of a wicked Ministry. Were these, Sir, the Methods which you followed to shew your Zeal and Affection for the House of Hanover? I should have begun with a more early Instance of your Attachment to the present royal Family, if I had consulted Order of Time; but as the Schism-bill struck me first with the greatest greatest Abhorrence of you and your Principles, I could not avoid setting out with it: but I will now turn my Eye backward to

the Year 1702.

You deny being one of the 117, who voted against the Bill for settling the protestant Succession, &c. but you do not deny your voting against a Clause to strengthen that Bill: surely you voted then in the Interest of the Pretender, when you was against the House of Hanover; especially as that Clause, by your own Confession, regarded such Persons as had neglected taking the Abjuration-

oath, &c.

Now, Sir, confider what a ridiculous Figure you make, when you endeavour to perfuade the World that you was not engaged with the Pretender before your Attainder. What do you mean by not being engaged with the Pretender? By not being engaged with him, do you mean that no Correspondence, by Letters, or by any other Means, was carryed on betwixt ye, or betwixt his Ministers and you, for his Interest, and that no formal Agreement was made betwixt ye in Writing? I am willing to make all the Concessions which you would ask in your Favour. Supposing you was not engaged with

with him, in your Sense, does your Opposition, I will say your Treason, to the present royal Family, appear the less, since you was engaged for him? What a stupid Evasion of your Guilt is here, by a frivolous Distinction of Words! Any one may reasonably conclude, from hence, that you have lost your Understanding as much as your Honesty.

Sufficient are the Instances which I have already brought of your Adherence to the Pretender's Interest before your Attainder; but more will appear in my Examinations into some other particular Parts of your Pamphlet. Before I leave the first Head, meaning the first Affirmation which you quote from the Crastsman, I will give myself the Pleasure of taking a close View of your concise Reasonings, and Flowers of Rhetoric, employed on that Head.

You tell us there are Reasons of a more private Nature (than those mentioned before for flying your Country) which would be very far, to say no more, from reflecting Dishonour on a Step, which is called shameful and ignominious. Pray, what Information have we from this Period? You infinuate that you have private Reasons for flying your Country, which would clear you of the Aspersion of

B 2 Guilt,

Guilt, if you would reveal them. When a Question in Debate is on Matters of Fact, Matters of Fact only must determine the Dispute. Your telling us what you can do, neither weakens the Assertion against you, nor proves the Veracity of what you say: and till you advance those private Reasons, every impartial Person will believe you have no such Reasons to advance, and that your Flight was the Consequence of your Guilt.

You are persuaded, you say, that this very Circumstance (your not being engaged with the Pretender before your Attainder) bad some Weight with his late Majesty, when that excellent Prince, the Mildness of whose Temper, and the Clemency of whose Nature, would have rendered him amiable in the most private Station, and made him almost adoreable in that great Elevation, to which the Providence of God bad raised him, when that excellent Prince, you say, was pleased on his own Motion, and without any Application from the Person here spoken of, (that is yourself) to extend his present, and promise his future, Favour to him. All that you have fayed in Praise of the late King, and more, may be fayed with Justice; yet you can make no one believe that he extended his Favour

Favour to you without any Application. I suppose you would have us think that the late King was too nearly touched with the Misfortunes of a Man of your superior Ta-lents and Virtues to let you dye in Exile. He must certainly have been moved by a Sense of your Merits, and a compationate Reflection on your Condition; to recall the Man who had exerted himself so strenuously as you had, in the Interest of the House of Hanover. Blush, Sir, at so weak an Insinuation: a reasonable Man, and such the late King was to a high Degree, feldom acts without a reasonable Motive; and what Motive, deduced from the Reason of Things, could the late King have to shew you the least Favour without Application? But you fay without any Application from the Person HERE SPOKEN OF. Who can tell from this Passage what your political Head has in Referve! By whom the Application was made is not the Question; Application was made; and without it you doubtless had never received any Mark of Favour from the late' King.

Innumerable, you say, are the Instances of Men in all Ages, who, having been driven out of their Country by Violence, have endeavoured.

voured, even by Violence, to return to it. You are under a very great Mistake; for Instances of this Nature, in all Ages, are so far from being innumerable, that they are not very numerous; however this is an inoffenfive Crime in Writing, therefore I shall proceed to what follows. This, you continue, is the general and known Course of Nature, (Nonsense!) depraved indeed but human; and fince it is so, if we allow that they who disturb a Government, because they think themselves persecuted, deserve no Excuse, we must allow that those, who gave Occasion to this Disturbance by Persecution, deserve very Why fo? Many may think themselves persecuted, when they are only punished; and the Person who brings them to Punishment, which the guilty may miscall Persecution, deferves Applause, and has no Occasion to plead an Excuse. This Truth will be best illustrated by a known Example. Mr. P. merits the Thanks of all his Countrymen for the great and commendable Zeal which he exerted against a late right reverend Prelate; and that Prelate, perhaps, thinks himself perfecuted, yet he deserves no Excuse, and Mr. P. has no need to plead any. You fee, Sir, you are as much out in your Logic as in your

your Politics: but let us enquire into what End you made this Digression from the Facts under Examination. You would infinuate that you was driven from your Country by Violence, and that those who drove you away (which really were only your own Apprehensions arising from your own Guilt) deferve but little more Excuse than you who disturbed the Government. Why are you so impolitic as to extort fresh Repetitions of your Crimes? Why will you your felf prevent a Possibility of having them forgot? Instances indeed we have of Men who have been driven out of their Country by Violence, and who have endeavoured, by Violence, to return to it; but even those were not good Men in that Light. Themistocles and Camillus were driven from their Country; but the Roman never meditated Revenge, but when his Country recalled him, repeated his Services to the ingrateful Land; and tho' the Greek, in the Heighth of his Resentment, fled for Refuge to the Enemy of his Country, and promised the Assistance of his Arm against his native Greece, yet Virtue got the Ascendant over his Resentment, and he chose to dy rather than lift up his Sword against her. Why do I bring thefe Inflances of con**fiderate**

fiderate virtuous Men, who were feverely attached to the Interest of their Country? To shew the Contrast betwixt them and a Wretch who has been guilty of Crimes of the blackest Dy against his Country, who invaded the Rights, the dearest Privileges, of his fellow Subjects, who abused the Power, to which he undeservedly arose, in the grossest Manner in which he possibly could; who fled at the Approach of Justice, and then entered into the Service of a Pretender, a popish Pretender, to the Crown; who was recalled, by the Clemency of one of the best of Princes, to breathe his native Air, and who now exerts all his Might to foment Discontents, and cherish Faction in his native Land. This is Truth; nor can all your fallacious Reasonings, and idle Evasions, ever conceal it.

To what Purpose do you, in the next Paragraph to that which I last quoted from, insist on what is not to be denyed, that your being engaged with the Pretender after your Attainder, is no Proof that you was under any Engagement with him before, and that your going out of the Kingdom in the late King's Reign, is no Proof of your having been a zealous Jacobite, and an Agent of the Pretender, in the Reign of Queen Ann?

No reasonable Person will pretend to say that these Circumstances, simply considered, are Proofs of your Engagement before with the Pretender; but as other undeniable Proofs are given of you having been in the Pretender's Interest before, these Circumstances being no Proofs do not in the least lessen your Offences; your Victory therefore in such an Argument is, in no Degree, to your Advantage.

What you fay concerning the Writ of Summons to Parliament which was demanded for his present Majesty has been sufficiently anfwered already by other Hands; and I have little to fay to what you call the fecond Head of Accusation, on which the CRAFTSMAN made his Challenge. Whether you ever had any Commerce, either direct or indirect, in-consistent with the Engagements which you took after your Attainder, whilst you contimued in them, is a very fruitless Dispute; and fuppofing you have the better of it, you are not, in the least, the better Man. I believe, from my Soul, you was fincerely attached to the Pretender's Cause both before and after your Attainder; and I as fincerely believe you would have betrayed him, if you did not,

not, for the Certainty of a happyer Situation, if you could not have acquired that Situation by any other Means.

On a third Head of Accusation against you. the Craftsman affirmed that since you was out of the Engagements last mentioned you have bad no Commerce, either direct or indirect. in Favour of that Cause. This I deny: your frequent Endeavours to distress the King's Affairs, by keeping alive the Spirit of Faction in the Kingdom, by factious Writings, and by misrepresenting the Views of the Ministry whenever you have an Opportunity to mifrepresent them, are the chief Steps which you can now take in Favour of the Pretender's Cause; for if you alienate the Affections of the Subjects from their present Sovereign, the Passage to their Hearts lys more open for another.

I now come to a curious Piece of Reasoning, which shews, with what I elsewhere take Notice of, what an Adept you are in that Art. If, say you, alluding to a Passage in the London fournal of last May the 15th, they dare to affert that HIS LATE MAJESTY would have been unjust, that he would

would not have deserved to wear the Crown. if He had not employed the Men whom He did employ, what might they not affert if HIS PRESENT MAJESTY (bould, at any Time, think fit to remove some of those very Men whom his royal Father did employ ? I shall first shew what Sort of Inference is couched in your Question, and then tell you what might reasonably be afferted if his prefent Majesty should, at any Time, think fit to remove some of those very Men whom his royal Father did employ. If we may presume to say his late Majesty would not have deserved to have wore the Crown, unless He had employed the Men whom He did. employ, we may with equal Justice, according to the Inference which you would make, assert that his present Majesty would deserve to lose it, if He should remove those Men whom his Father did employ: this, or an Inference like it, you must conceive, or none; and this is a very false one; for you do not take the Argument in the full Extent of it. If his present Majesty should think fit to remove any of those Men whom his Father did employ, without their giving any Instances of Male-administration, or of their Incapacity, I do affert that his Majesty would do wrong wrong to Himself, to those whom He removes, and to his other Subjects; and if any Signs of their Incapacity, or Male-administration, should hereafter appear, He would do right in removing them. This is the true State of the Question; but as you, and your Tools of Faction, have thro your Writings shewed incontestable Marks of your Inabilitys to reason, no great Honour can arise from confuting ye.

Besides what the Craft sman affirms on the three Heads on which He made his Chal-Ienge, He fays the Mercy of the late King was extended to you unasked and unearned; on which I have fayed enough already; and I am certain that, in the Opinion of every reasonable Man, I have answered my Defign on these three Heads, which is to prove that, if you could demonstrate the Truth of the Affertions contained in these three Heads, you would not appear a better Man, nor bring a stronger Recommendation of yourself to your King and Country, than if those Assertions were disproved; therefore you are highly impolitic in engaging in the Controversy; for, after all your Labour, and supposing we make all the Concessions which your Heart can wish to have made, you still wear the same black Garment

Garment of Iniquity which you had on before.

Now I have done with these three Heads, I shall proceed to discover the Absurditys in the latter Part of your Pamphlet.

You ask if it bath been reproached to the Patrons of the Remarker; that they wormed out of Power a Person, to whom they were nearly allyed, and ought to have been firmly attached by Gratitude and Friendship? Yes, and in a very foolish and ridiculous Manner. in the Craft sman, Numb. 172. I hope you are answered in this Particular, and that you will be cautious how you ask fuch filly Queftions again. Now I am on your Interrogatorys I will condescend to answer another. Are there no Facts, you ask, relating to former Transactions of great Importance not commonly known, and yet not absolutely Secrets, which remain still unmentioned? Yes, I believe even I am not a Stranger to some which are not commonly known. I have heared of a certain Lord, in the Reign of Queen Ann. who bribed a Subaltern in the Army, that was a Favourite of a certain Earl now dead. to rob his Patron's Cabinet of his Papers, which

which that Lord afterwards converted to his own iniquitous Use, and rewarded the young Officer with a Post of Command for his good Services. You, Sir, perhaps, are not ignorant of what I here mention, and, by recollecting this, some other Transactions of great Importance, depending on it, may occur to your Mind.

You wish, you say, the Earl of Oxford's Memorial to the late QUEEN bad never been written. I believe you do; for doubtless you was not very well pleased with that noble Lord for informing your royal Mistress how you had abused your Trust, how you fet yourfelf up the Head of a Party, and made Divisions in her Councils, how you forwarded a scandalous and pernicious Expedition to Canada, and defrauded the Public of above twenty thousand Pounds by that Expedition. Should you descend into Particulars, you might shew, you tell us, that the Accusations were groundless. fure if you have read, as without Doubt you have, Sir Hov. Walker's own Account of the Expedition to Canada, in which He commanded as Admiral, you there faw feveral Paffages

Passages, by no Means, in Favour of those who sent him on that wild Errant.

The Persons who had the Honour to serve the late QUEEN, in the last Period of her Life, have been these twenty Years, as you fay, the Subjects of great Clamour. From what has that great Clamour been derived. but from their own bad Management? If the Differences, continue you, which happened amongst them so long ago, gave in some Meafure, as I apprehend that they did, both Occasion and Force to this Clamour, it would be strange Conduct, indeed, in those of them, who remain ALIVE, and in the Relations and Friends of those of them who are DEAD, to affift in reviving this Clamour. You miftake, Sir; the Conduct would not be strange; for if one of those who had the Honour to be employed by the late Queen in the last Period of her Life, and who, by one of the vilest of Administrations, incurred the Difpleasure of his Country, should, twenty Years afterwards, or any Number of Years afterwards, aim at arriving again to the same Power which He abused, and strive to wipe off the Stains on his own Character by casting them on other Persons, they who are alive,

live, and were concerned with him, ought in Justice to themselves, and the Friends and Relations of those who are dead ought in Justice to the Memory of the dead, to assist in reviving the Clamour, that the guilty Man may bear his own shame Himself, without laying Part of the Burden on other Men.

The Day will come, you inform us, when AUTHENTICK HISTORY will relate the Passages of those Times, without Regard to the partial Views of any Party. I doubt not but that Time will come as foon as the latter Part of Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times shall be published; but I can conceive no Reafon for you to entertain any Hopes of Advantage to your Character from faithful Historian. What pleafant Thoughts you may flatter yourself with of being conveyed down to Posterity, in the Name of an upright Minister, by the Pen of an Irish Dean, who, as I am told, is writing the History of his own Times. I cannot tell. The Wretch that has used his Pen in libelling the late Earl of Godolphin, the Duke of Marlborough, and almighty God, will not furprise the World when he employs it again in Favour of the late Lord B.

But

But what bath all this to do with the Characters and Conduct of the noble Pair ? I'll tell you what all this bath to do, as you elegantly write, with them. An Opportunity is here given to shew what a Monster of Iniquity they were always Enemys to: but suppose the Men in Power, two Reigns ago, to have been Angels of Dark Ness, will it follow that the two honourable Patrons of the Remarker are Angels of Darkness we may reasonably presume that they never will be Angels of Light.

Thro the eight following Pages you declaim very heartyly against the present Ministry, and in Praise of yourself and sellow Labourers: you Pride yourself in the Victory which you fancy ye have gained by your Writings: but let me assure you that neither the Craft sman, nor any of your Faction, has so much as endeavoured to obviate the most important Arguments which have been lately advanced against ye, nor to reconcile the Contradictions which have been discovered in your Writings: ye dwell on Trisses, and neglect

neglect answering such Passages as prove ye bad Writers, bad Reasoners, and bad Men: ye tacitly give up the most significant Points against ye, and, like the French in the Time of the late Wars, sing the Song of Triumph when yourselves are vanquished: however, enjoy the salse Triumph; for it is all the Reward ye are ever likely to obtain for your Pains.

Before I take my Leave of your Book, I must take Notice of the solemn Declaration which you make at the latter End of it. You rightly observe that He who seeks Nothing but RETREAT, and that Stability of Situation which is essential to the Quiet of it, bath surely no Ambition; but I think you cannot affert, with Truth, this to be the Case of the Gentleman, and to have been long his Cafe, concerning whom you fpeak; which must be yourself, or you could not boldly affirm the Truth of what you fay of him, as you do. You fay you possess your Soul without Hopes or Fears, and enjoy your Retreat without any Desires beyond it. If I was certain of the Truth of this Declaration. I should abhor myself for endeavouring, by this Letter, to molest you: but the Craftsman,

man, who has pointed you out as one of his Patrons, and the Pamphlet which gave Birth to this Letter, shew how inconsistent your Declaration is with your Actions.

Thus, Sir, I have gone thro great Part of your public Character, and if I was to make a strict Inquisition into your private Life, I should be justifyed by the Rules which one of your own Faction has layed down. the Craftsman of the 14th of August last, Numb. 267, the Author fays, there are some Cases where it may not only be very justifiable to examine into the PRIVATE CHA-RACTERS of Men, but even necessary to apprize the Public of them. The People have undoubtedly as just a Right to inquire into, and to be informed of, the private Virtues and Vices of the Person who is intrusted with the Care of their LIBERTY and PRO-PERTY as any Gentleman can have to demand a Character of his STEWARD, who is to manage his Estate. I am certain that the Person, whom this abominable Scribbler aims at, is in no Manner of Dread of an Enquiry into his public or private Character; but furely this poor Devil has loft all Sense of Shame, or He would not mention the Fo- D_2

rage-contract again, as a Reproach to a certain great Man, after the Fairness of the Contract has been so clearly proved as it has been; and I thought one of his Patrons had been enough exposed about the Affair of the Penny-post-letter to have deterred him from entering on that Subject again. I now proceed to those Parts of a Man's private Character by which this shrewd Politician can foretel what the Man will be in a public Station.

A Coward in private Life may be a Bully in publick. The Spendthrift of his private Fortune will probably be profuse of the publick Treasure. He, who is false and insincere in private Life, will have little Regard to national Faith. From these Enquiries into the private Manners of those, who may hereaster preside over the Publick, we may learn in Time to oppose and give Check to their Measures.

Pray, Sir, advise these little dirty Dabblers in Politics, who are under your Patronage, to be more consistent in their Writings than they are. One while they violently inveigh against all Examinations into private Characters, which are what you seem averse

averse to in the Pamphlet before me; and at another Time, as they answer their Ends, they are for fuch Examinations: but their greatest Impolicy here does not appear in their Inconsistencys: would any skilful Difputant furnish his Enemy with Weapons against Himself or his Allys, as the Craftsman has? Have I not a fair Opportunity to scrutinize severely into the private Parts of your Life? For tho you are never likely to prefide over the Public hereafter, you are one who has long opposed those who do preside over it, and you feem to look on their Elevation with Envy; which are no slender Tokens of your Ambition, notwithstanding you fay that has been long dead. I believe that you will allow that I may as justly make Use of these Rules, which the Craft sman has exhibited, against any one who flys in the Face of a Ministry, with malicious or ambitious Views, as He may against any who do prefide, or who may hereafter prefide, over the Public: and I do affure you, Sir, without mentioning your Gambols in Greenwich-park, and fome other well known Storys, I have Intelligence of many pretty private Exploits of your own, both at Home and Abroad, which you may call Acts of Gallantry, and which

which other Men, who are too rigid in their Notions of Virtue, would call direct Immoralitys; but I fcorn taking such Advantages as much as I do the Craftsman's Manner of writing: the Methods which I pursue to check your Measures are more justifyable; my Enquirys are of a public Nature, such as follow.

Who was ingrateful and treacherous to the Duke of Marlborough, and the late Earl of Godolphin? Who stopped the Current of a glorious War, and made a fcandalous Peace with France? Who betrayed Tournay to the French out of the Hands of our Ally the Dutch? Who facrificed our faithful Allys the Catalans? Who promoted the Schismbill? Who forwarded the Expedition to Canada, and cheated the Public of above twenty thousand Pounds? Who fled his Country. and entered into the Service of the Pretender? Who, being recalled from Exile, flys in the Face of that Government by whose Indulgence he breathes his native Air? One of the Craft sman's Patrons, the Man that opposes the present Ministry, and who would once more preside over the Public.

I cannot,

I cannot, Sir, avoid thinking that you are now convinced of your Want of Policy in engaging in a Controversy of this Nature: and I solemnly declare, from the Sincerity of my Soul, that, if I did not believe my prefent Undertaking to expose the Falsity's and Fallacys of your Pamphlet an Act of Virtue, I would not have troubled you with the preceding Pages.

The END.



To cannot, Sir, avoid thinking that you are now convinced of year Want of Policy in expansion win a Commoverity of this Nature: and I tultionally declars, from the bincerity of and I fulliantly declars, from the bincerity of feathful ahas, if I did not believe my prefeative decraking to expole the failure and feathful of your famphilet on AQ of Virtue, I would not have troubled you with the preceding Pages.

The END.